

# PEACE NEWS

No. 264

JULY 4, 1941

2d.

## The Significance of the Attack on Russia

By WILFRED WELLOCK

**T**HE Russo-German Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, startled and shocked the whole world. Its ending, which was even more sudden than its beginning, startled it scarcely less. But the short life of the pact is no criterion of its importance, for it has been instrumental in changing the face of Europe—and not the face only, but its constitution, its political, economic and social framework, and thus the course of European history. It is doubtful if more far-reaching changes were ever made inside 22 months.

There is a noticeable disinclination among press and other commentators in this country to touch this side of the question. Russia must be welcomed into the Allied fold and no awkward questions asked. For the time being all the ghosts which are popping out their heads must be pushed back into their cupboards. But the awkward questions will crop up and the ghosts come forth later on, make no mistake!

The dissolution of the pact is as great a mystery to the public, and apparently to the politicians, as was its signing. It pleases the latter to regard Russia as the unfortunate dupe of an unscrupulous enemy. But Stalin knew when the pact was signed that it sealed the fate of Poland, probably of Europe, and possibly Britain, with Russia's consent and on her terms. The pact is immediately responsible for the Europe we now see. It is worth while repeating Molotov's words before the Supreme Council of Soviets, eight days after the signing of the pact:

Conditions being what they are, it is difficult to over-estimate the international importance of the Soviet-German Pact . . . it marks a turning point in the history of Europe, and not of Europe alone. This pact proves that no important questions of international relations, and still less questions in Eastern Europe, can be settled without the active participation of the Soviet Union . . .

Those words have been proved to be prophetic, but to ignore the fact is to throw away the master key to

the solution of the international problem.

**S**OON after the pact was signed, I expressed the opinion that it would hold together until Europe had been brought under the control of National Socialism, after which it would be decided whether the control would be Nazi, Communist, or joint. I then thought the third alternative would be adopted, as I concluded that by that time Germany would be too exhausted economically and militarily to dream of conquering Russia, and would therefore modify her racial ideology and share the control of Europe with Russia. But Germany's phenomenal military success has completely ruled out that possibility. Hence the dissolution of the pact.

Last year I stated in an article on Russia, in *Month by Month*, that the pact

may not signify a lasting marriage. Ideological differences may cause disruption later on, although hardly before the issue between Britain and Germany has been decided . . . despite the common features in their economic systems, Russia can never feel quite safe so long as the Nazi leaders hold on to their racial ideology.

In my view Germany has dissolved her pact with Russia because she believes the issue between Britain and herself has been decided, and also because she believes that Russia is militarily much weaker than is generally supposed.

In 1939 the Russo-German Pact was a dire necessity to both parties to it, and a trump card for both of them against the democracies.

The pact sealed Germany's eastern frontier, put Poland in her pocket, and thus gave her a good start in her campaign of conquest in Western Europe. Russia, on the other hand, having completely lost faith in capitalist

Britain and fearing a bargain between Britain and Hitler, in order to encourage Hitler to attack Russia, saw in a war between Germany and Britain and her ally, France, the possibility of the democratic empires being broken, and Germany either broken or greatly weakened, and herself benefiting by the outcome.

She had done everything in her power to maintain peace, had even joined the League of Nations after years of persistent denunciation of the League on Marxian grounds; yet all the while she had been kept at arm's length by Britain. She appears to have come to the conclusion that Britain was her inveterate and most bitter enemy. So why not let Hitler's new military machine batter down the capitalist citadels of Britain and France?

The possibility of Russia benefiting by a broken or exhausted Germany, Britain, and France had the further attraction that should the allies win the war (and possibly in any case) a revolution would almost certainly occur in Germany, in which event the thorough-going State organization and control of Germany's entire financial and economic existence would greatly facilitate the setting up of a Communist regime.

**W**E now face the sequel of the pact.

It has served Hitler's purpose, and in large measure Stalin's. Europe and Asia, from the English Channel to the Pacific Ocean, are under National Socialist control. So far as Russia and Germany are concerned the issue is, which system of National Socialism shall dominate it, Nazi or Communist?

That is, shall Europe consist of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or of a system of States organized on Nazi lines, with Germany exercising a dominating influence over its economic, and possibly a considerable influence over its intellectual and spiritual life?

One thing is, I think, certain: that Hitler believes he has to all intents and purposes beaten Britain; has by

### Rock Bottom

**T**HIS week the Fighting Fund has touched bottom: £8 9s. 7d. Frankly, I did not believe it was possible for a week's contributions to sink below double figures. But evidently, new experiences are always in store for me.

Nevertheless, the needs of the Fund are more urgent than ever. The whole world-situation is now moving at a gallop toward a condition in which the independent pacifist press we aim at establishing will be an imperative necessity. We must be prepared beforehand.

From this week onward the total will be given at monthly intervals; it appears to induce complacency.

*The Editor*

his latest stroke rendered a British invasion of Europe an impossibility; has even got the control of the Mediterranean, and thus of the Near East, within his grasp. His calculations may turn out to be all wrong; but so far his calculations have been uncannily accurate.

Judging by the attitude of the Vichy Government and the Governments of Sweden and Finland, it would appear that Hitler may have good grounds for concluding that the majority opinion in Europe favours a Nazi as against a Communist victory; and in nearly every country in Europe a reactionary Government is in power.

No amount of juggling with facts can remove the fact that the struggle in Europe is the class war in its latest phase. Whichever side wins, a totalitarian Europe is the outcome, but in one case it will be upheld by a Gestapo and in the other by an Ogpu.

### DOES British and American Big

Business realize this situation, or has it decided to wear "for the duration" the blinkers which the politicians have already prepared for it? Unless I am greatly mistaken, it will find something sticking in its gullet before long.

Already the Communist Party of Great Britain is on the lookout. That party faces a situation which will call forth its maximum effort. It will demand 100 per cent. co-operation between the people of Britain, Russia, and Germany; 100 per cent. war and propaganda pressure on Hitler; 100 per cent. war enthusiasm in every Government Department. Its demands, and those of the Labour Party, unless it, too, takes fright, will cause great and growing consternation on the Right.

Here, then, would appear to be the World Revolution which Communism has all along predicted, but for Communists to have the backing of die-hard Tories in order to secure the triumph of Communism in Europe surely surpasses their wildest dreams.

In these circumstances we must expect many sudden and startling changes, for the significance of the new situation has not yet been grasped. Much propaganda will take place behind the scenes. Moreover, Hitler has returned to his favourite bogey, which Goebbels knows so well how to use.

At the moment we see Soviet Russia, World Communism, British Labour, British and American Big Business, marching shoulder to shoulder over the next stretch of road leading to the New World. But as the road happens to be beset with numerous rocks, bog holes, and precipices, we must not expect a smooth passage. There will be "incidents."

Can the new situation be used to increase the chance of a revolution in the social outlook of Britain?

## If Russia is Defeated

**W**ITH the war between Germany and Russia we have entered upon a period of swift and drastic clarification both of the military and the ideological situation. In regard to the military situation, the prospect may be put bluntly. If Germany succeeds in quickly incapacitating the Russian army—as American opinion believes it will—then the remote chance of Britain and the USA winning a military victory over Germany on the continent will be reduced to zero: to a zero so palpable that the man in the street will eventually be compelled to recognize it. Not only the material, but most of the institutional religious forces of a military Europe will be on Germany's side.

If on the other hand, the unexpected should happen and Russia should succeed in inflicting a defeat on Germany, what power could prevent the Russian armies from carrying Communism to the other end of Europe? The third possibility we suppose, is outright victory for neither Germany nor Russia, and presumably it is for this that our politicians hope. Germany and Russia will exhaust each other, and Britain will assume the role, just vacated

by Stalin, of *tertius gaudens*. We will step on the scene as masters of Europe. And that, if it were possible, would doubtless be the best, from the British point of view. We should take over the organization of Europe which the Germans have planned.

Unfortunately, this third possibility seems even more wildly improbable than the second. Anyhow, we shall have to wait only a week or two to know for certain whether or not the Germans will win the quick victory over the Russians which they obviously anticipate. If they do not, we can consider the new situation when it arises. For the moment it is more prudent to assume that the Germans are going to win—and to win quickly.

What then? Then, we may be certain, a fresh offer of peace from Hitler will follow. It is almost, though not quite, equally certain that it will be refused with contumely by Mr. Churchill. And then the battering of Britain will begin in real earnest. Naturally, we as pacifists shall be for the acceptance of that offer of peace if and when it is made. Possibly, other elements, who take a purely realistic and materialistic view of the situation, will be urging the same

course. We shall not hesitate to add our voice to theirs. It is our duty as pacifists to do so.

Whichever way it goes, the immediate future of Europe is totalitarian. We will not pretend we like it; but we hold firmly that totalitarian peace is better than totalitarian war. In totalitarian peace, we pacifists have some chance to get on with what we increasingly discover to be our real job: to keep alive the notion of the value in this world as well as the next, of the individual person. That creed and the practice of it is in for a rough time for a good many years to come. And—let us be clear about it—in the form in which it is customarily professed, whereby the individualism is invoked to cover social lawlessness, it deserves the rough time it will get. To discover and create forms of social life in which a high valuation of the individual person is compatible with the necessary social coherence is our positive task. We must be about it much more earnestly than we are. For whatever be the large-scale outcome of the war which has now passed its climacteric, the value of the individual person will be more in jeopardy than ever before.

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

**R**EALLY, this week the press has surpassed itself. The military correspondent of the *Evening News*, even on June 30, assured us that the Blitzkrieg on Russia was "a damp squib." The *Times* of the same date assured us that it was not "a damp squib, but perhaps not the gleaming rocket that Germany had hoped for."

The simple thing to do is to look at a decent map. If the arrival of Panzer divisions at Minsk in a week is not a Blitzkrieg, one wonders what, in the opinion of military correspondents, a Blitzkrieg really is. Certainly, the German figures of the losses in the air on either side seem incredible: 4,107 Russian, 150 German. But the unfortunate fact is that the Germans have already achieved a good many incredible things in this war.

## Now We Know

**M**ORE interesting, perhaps, is the news that the American business world welcomes the Russo-German war, because it thinks it means (1) that the war will now be prolonged indefinitely, so there will be no fear of a business-slump and (2) that the Communists will cease from organizing strikes which have seriously interfered with the operations of the said big business.

The feeling of relief, says *The Times* (June 30), "was not at all because it was believed that the Russians could and would do such things to the Germans as would make it comparatively easy for Britain and her allies to give the coup de grace to Hitlerism." So now we know.

## Hess's "Assurance"

**A**PPARENTLY, American opinion partly confirms my own surmise concerning the connection of recent events with the visit of Herr Hess.

It seems to be generally accepted on the other side of the Atlantic that the warnings given by the British Government to Russia and the recall of Sir Stafford Cripps were the direct results of disclosures made by Rudolf Hess. Whatever his own position or degree of authority it seems to be ac-

## Realities Behind "Democratic" Backing for Russia

cepted that the result of his statements was to convince the British Government that a German attack on Russia was imminent. It appears to be equally clear that our warnings to the Soviet Union were not believed. It seems probable that they were thought to be part of an attempt to induce Russia to attack Germany with the result that she would be the aggressor and Great Britain and Germany might make common cause (*Eastern Daily Press*, June 27).

We may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis that Hess came, less to warn than to assure Britain that Germany was about to attack Russia.

## Attitude to Russia

**W**E may put the clues together thus. Hess was known to be restive about the Russo-German agreement. As soon as he knew that Hitler definitely intended to revert to his policy of being "the bulwark of Europe against Bolshevism"—the phrase, applied to Hitler by the late H. A. L. Fisher, may remind us that Hess and Hitler had grounds for hoping that a "crusade" against Russia would meet with British approval—Hess obtained Hitler's tacit consent to his flight to Britain. (I have always believed that Hess came with Hitler's connivance). Was it, or was it not, a bad misunderstanding of British psychology which induced these two men to believe that the British attitude to Germany would be changed? The exceptional violence of Mr. Churchill's speech (eulogized by the *New Statesman*, June 28, as "a great and historic event"), was obviously intended to convince Germany that the British attitude was unchanged. But is it? Read this:

There is a general feeling that Lord Nathan was lacking in tact at the luncheon at the Dorchester Hotel yesterday. It was a perfectly natural and easily comprehensible instinct which led him to propose the toast of "Success to the Russian Armies," but the audience was not psychologically prepared for it, and the result, as I learn from one who was present at the function, was that an embarrassing proportion of those present remained seated (*Eastern Daily Press*, June 27).

"Everybody," rather naively adds the correspondent, "wants to see Russia resisting as long as possible." But not everybody—not half the luncheoners at the Dorchester, for example—wants to see Russia win.

## "Dorchester Thinking"

**T**HE line of Dorchester thinking is apparent. It desires that Germany should beat Russia, but only after a long and exhausting

struggle which would give Britain a breathing space in which to strengthen her position in the West. On a purely "realistic" calculus—the only one that has currency in the world today—there is a good deal to be said for the idea which has lately been propounded by the well-known Russian correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Mr. W. H. Chamberlain. He can hardly be called a cynic or a reactionary; but his long experience of Soviet Russia convinced him that the diversion of Nazi energies toward the East was the best hope for what remained of European civilization.

But, of course, the British guarantee to Poland made nonsense of this policy, if it was seriously entertained by Mr. Neville Chamberlain; and it has enabled Hitler to put himself at the head of what is now virtually a European coalition on behalf of which he can claim to be attacking Russia. Sooner or later, I surmise, this new situation will have its effect upon some sections of British opinion.

## Hitler's Belief

**I** DO not pretend to "understand" Hitler; but I have always suspected that he was, however misguided, serious in his belief, declared in *Mein Kampf*, that he had no fundamental quarrel with the British Empire, provided Britain would keep its fingers out of the European continent; and it seems to me very likely that he still believes that Britain will come to accept this position. That this was the proposal Hess brought to Britain has been definitely stated by Provost Dollan (*Daily Mail*, June 30). And not only is there a report that von Papen communicated peace-proposals to the British Minister in Turkey; but the Berlin correspondent of the *Spanish News Agency* (quoted by the *News Chronicle*, June 26) writes this:

But for the war-mongering attitude of the US President, I would dare to hope that at the end of the Russian campaign the German army would find, as a prize for the high European task undertaken by Hitler, peace and understanding between the Reich and the British Empire, which would mean that the world had entered an era of perfection.

That is German propaganda in Spain! It contains food for thought.

## Sword of the State?

**A**NYHOW, the effect of Hitler's anti-Russian move in further consolidating Europe under German leadership is already apparent. Sweden's permission for the transport of German troops to the Finnish front, Finland's own quick corroboration in act of

Hitler's assertion that she was "marching with Germany"—these mark a definite swing-over of European forces. These forces will not be behind him if he subsequently attempts to annihilate Britain. The point is that, when it comes to a choice between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, the preference of Europe is for Germany. That, I think, is a fact.

And it is no use pretending that in the present situation ideologies do not count. The *Times*, in an effort to prevent a weakening of Roman Catholic opinion in Britain, prominently prints a letter from the secretary of "The Sword of the Spirit" movement which quotes Mr. Christopher Dawson as saying: "Let us not be misled. It is not the ideology of the Communist International that Hitler is attacking, but Russia as an independent centre of world-power." But if this distinction is valid for us, it is valid also against us. It is not the ideology of Nazism we are fighting, but Germany as an independent centre of world power.

## Ideologies

**B**UT in truth the distinction cannot be made. Russia, as an independent centre of world power, gives concrete substance to the Communist ideology; just as Germany gives concrete substance to the Nazi ideology, and as France gave concrete substance to "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" in 1789. It would be as true to say that Britain was not fighting the revolutionary ideology of the French revolution in the Napoleonic wars as to say that Germany is not fighting the ideology of Communism today.

From the pacifist point of view the difference between these ideologies is of little consequence compared to the fact that both alike assert the unlimited power of the State over the individual, and both legitimize the utmost use of violence. To the pacifist, the claim of the Nazis to be fighting for civilization against Russia is as preposterous as the claim of Russia to be fighting for civilization against Germany. "A plague on both your houses!"

But to a good many bourgeois and capitalist minds in Britain and innumerable more peasant minds in Europe, the distinction between the two ideologies is of some consequence. Nazism is, rightly or wrongly, supposed by them to be more tender to some forms of private property. If it comes to the choice whether Communism or Nazism should sweep over Europe, their choice is Nazism.

## For What?

**T**HUS it is idle to pretend that "distinctions between the two systems are irrelevant." The distinction is made in point of fact in Europe; and it is a political force of which Britain is likely to feel the effects in a very practical way: first, in a further weakening of our appeal to Europe; secondly, in a certain slackening of the drive toward war in the USA where the "anti-Red" sentiment is a good deal stronger than it is in Britain; thirdly, in an increasing hesitation in certain circles in Britain. This will be apparent, I conjecture, as a growing desire to know "what we are fighting for."

A solution to the ideological impasse would be the one obviously dreamed of by the majority of the guests at the Dorchester Hotel: that Germany should have to fight a long and exhausting but ultimately victorious war against Russia. I should say that the dream was unlikely to be realized.

## Civil Defence

**O**N the home front, I take note of the onslaught of *The Times* (June 26), powerfully aided by a cogent article by Sir William Beveridge, on the Government in general and Mr. Herbert Morrison in particular for their resistance to a centralized Ministry of Civil Defence, possessing equal authority with the other defence services. The measures for which the proposed Minister would be responsible include:

Fire prevention; fire fighting; rescue, first-aid, temporary housing, and warden services; emergency feeding; permanent rehousing of workers on work of national importance; evacuation; shelters; building repairs, demolition, and clearance.

Certainly, unless these measures are co-ordinated by a central authority with compulsive powers, if the grand attack on Britain which is officially anticipated after a German victory over Russia were actually to be launched, the consequences would be horrible. The creation of such a Ministry should have been one of the first concerns of a Government with an understanding of the implications of total war; but it involves superseding local authorities. That will certainly be resisted.

## Discipline of Labour

**M**R. Richard Gregg's new pamphlet, *A Discipline for Non-Violence*, which has just reached me from America (Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania), will be, I fancy, a little disconcerting to some of those who have pressed for a study of "the technique of non-violence." Mr. Gregg's conclusion will hardly be what they expected.

He urges, as the necessary basic discipline of a non-violent movement, regular manual labour in groups. The labour must be concretely creative; it must make things. And the things it makes must be of recognized social value. He therefore considers food-raising, which he rejects because it is possible only to those who have access to land; building because it is too heavy and involves too many skills and too great an outlay on material. Neither of these can be made a universal discipline in the movement. Therefore he chooses cloth-making: spinning and weaving.

Rather oddly, he makes no reference at all to Gandhi and the discipline of khaddar in this connection. But the interest and value of the pamphlet is that it indicates a striking convergence of hitherto divergent trends of pacifist thought—between the movement seeking a "technique" of non-violent resistance and the movement toward the self-subsistent community.

## Not Red but Rosy

**T**HE worst thing about poverty is that it imposes a dead-end to every cycle of thought. No matter what the subject you begin on and what plans it should give rise to, you are always held up in the end before the blank, staring fact that there isn't the money and you can't do anything. The result is that the poor are always looking into vacancy at just that moment when the glowing imagination should run alight into action and the quick generosity of deed.

It is this, more often than starvation, which gives the pauper his pinched look. He is at the end of the plank always, and not blindfold. And that's just his funeral normally. Those with the money see open a golden bridge to bypass him.

But in war, which is impoverishment to a purpose, the state of all is somewhat pauper-like. Even though war is highly profitable to some, it sets up everywhere its own dead-end. Whatever you start to think, or plan or discuss, sooner or later you remember the fact of war, and numbness sets in. Why are the many numb? There's a war on, see.

**T**HE operation of this damper is what stops us from enjoying contemporary contretemps the way we should in other times. We are all in dead earnest but mainly because we are faced with a dead-end. Therefore, naturally, our activities being solemn we accumulate an unusual amount of dead wood. We know it, but nobody laughs, so there's no pruning.

Now the plain fact—war aside—is that every government is struggling to adopt and evade simultaneously some good old communist principles. They are fascinated by the sheer idealism of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Hundreds of the erstwhile racketeers of enterprise, taking the red taint, rush into bureaucracy and float schemes. Where once you pro-

moted a company for private profit, nowadays you put up a plan in the national interest. People get registered and re-registered, their ability dotted down and their needs totted up in one formula and another until the amount of documentation accumulated by the planster-chiefs must be colossal.

Practically every month a new plan comes whirling along like a desert sandstorm; the press, the radio, and publicity men are agitated by it, forms fly about; and then it recedes to go on quietly gyrating somewhere for the duration of the war. Its wheels within wheels, and some.

**E**VERYONE is so new-fangled with these socialist devices that it is not a bit of use criticizing them. The inevitable reply to criticism is another scheme. Point out that it was wrong to call up miners for military training when you are going to need coal, and wrong again to let so many of them go into munition factories, and you merely start up more local plan-storms for the increase of production and the transfer of labour. Prove that aerodromes need a better defence, and automatically someone begins a fresh enrolment of volunteers.

Soon it won't be safe to raise your voice. Just mention that the conscription of female labour will empty the cradles, or that the trick of making workers pay income tax on the income tax they paid last half-year kills their interest in working overtime, or that the 66 coupons covers more clothes than most people got in the best times of peace, and you may start another avalanche. Some delighted scheduler will at once sketch out a plan to scotch plans.

So while the enthusiasm lasts and everyone simply must dangle this yo-yo, we can only wait and keep mum. One morning the immense iridescence of the South Sea Bubble, the plan of plans, will arch over the wel-

STREET 10

by

JACK COMMON

ter of man-power, rationing, production, and control. There will be such a sigh of wonder and delight—and tomorrow we'll be sober.

**O**F course, what makes these pleasures possible is the discovery that socialism is safe and even pleasant if its in the right hands. It is only when the other fellow gets hold of it, that it becomes communism and horrid. Make everyone pay an equal income-tax, that is justice; give them an equal income, that's bolshevism. Control production certainly, that's war; control the controllers—oo-er, revolution!

There is always the danger that things might go too far and the goose sauce get splashed on the ganders. Therefore many people who have been aching for years to dabble in socialist planning were held off by the fear that if they started everyone else might. It was a pity, they all thought, that there wasn't some brake so that a fellow could be pretty Gadarone for himself and pals without stirring up the whole swine-rush.

One day they found that brake; the day war was declared. War is the act of closure, the guillotine that can be dropped whenever proceedings are getting uncomfortable. You can now conscript labour and be truly patriotic. But the conscription of wealth is a seditious notion. You can ration food and clothing in order to secure a fair share for all. But you mustn't ration money in case they really get that fair share.

And the implement of that "must not" is war. It is skating on thin ice to play about with socialist legislation, but the ice will hold as long as the frost does. When we begin making peace we prepare a thaw that puts us all in the pond. So look out for the splash.

## WOMEN'S SECTION

## Saints and Saviours

by ELIZABETH SHALLARD

A HINDU parable tells the story of a beautiful garden enclosed by a high wall. Outside men were in ignorance of what lay behind the wall.

At last they set up a ladder and climbed steadfastly up and looked over. Some who looked over were so overwhelmed with what they saw that they jumped in and dwelt there. Others, climbing steadfastly too, looked over, saw the beauty, and were also strongly tempted to jump in but they resisted; and, going back to the people who did not bother to climb up, began to preach to them of the wonders and glories that might be theirs.

The men who jumped into the garden are the holy men and saints of the world, but those who came back to tell the good tidings are the Saviours of Humanity.

In every age have been a few noble and glorious souls, men and women, called to be saints, to withdraw from the world and its troubles and to live by meditation on higher things. But today there comes the call to be, for most of us, Saviours—Saviours of Humanity.

We are needed in times of war and the destruction of the values of life, when men know not where to turn, to preach the garden that can be a living reality if only we will climb the wall, the kingdom of peace and righteousness and of God come down on earth with men to dwell.

SYBIL MORRISON  
writes

WILL London members make a note of Sunday, July 20? Sybil Thorndike was to have given a reading on the 13th, but is unable to. Instead, on the 20th, Laurence Housman will give a reading of an entirely new play of his own.

We have ventured to take the Caxton Hall, which holds 300 people, and we hope that many members will be able to avail themselves of this opportunity.

An exceedingly successful meeting organized by the London Area, was held last week for the purpose of discussing and comparing notes on the present situation in regard to the conscription of women. This meeting was for women only and it was attended by about 60, mostly of the age directly concerned in the present calling-up.

Two short introductory speeches were made and discussion was so lively that the chairman had a very busy time! At least thirty people contributed to the discussion, and it was noticeable that each speaker was confronted with a slightly different problem.

All were agreed on the helpful nature of the speeches, and a desire to have another meeting of the same kind was strongly expressed. The London Area, therefore, hopes to arrange another meeting to discuss the whole principle of industrial conscription, and it is hoped that other areas will try to arrange similar discussion meetings.

Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units (Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London W.C.2.) have immediate vacancies in Christian units for agriculture in Cheshire, Worcestershire, Hampshire, Sussex, Cambridgeshire, and elsewhere.

MAX PLOWMAN'S LETTERS  
To the Editor of Peace News

The grave danger of destruction that hangs over everything of value today makes me anxious to have a volume of my husband's letters ready for publication as soon as possible. I shall therefore be very grateful if anyone holding letters from him will entrust them to me (at this address) for selection immediately. Every letter will be treated in complete confidence, and returned to its owner as soon as a copy (if required) has been made.

DOROTHY PLOWMAN  
Little Oaks, Langham, nr. Colchester.

## A Programme in Outline

THE policy of the Peace Pledge Union during the last twelve months has not, I suggest, been a very considerable success. We have not sufficiently recognized and trusted the healthy but rather nebulous impulses felt by majorities and some minorities in the movement, so that these impulses have remained without suitable and directed forms of expression.

If proof be asked, I point to the unrest evident at the AGM, the vociferous support for a more militant policy, and the serious falling off in national income. The responsibility is, and must remain, divided; the Council must be more responsive, and groups must be more audible in their protests and must give more thought to their own suggestions.

Here is the brief outline of the main factors of a sound policy, as they appear to me. Of necessity they are here stated in tabloid form, leaving to the imagination of the reader the process by which this programme has been formulated and the arguments in its support.

## MAIN PURPOSE OF POLICY

To mobilize a mass movement of reform, appealing primarily to "the common man," sharing his problems and trying to help in their solution. At some points this must include useful struggle against odds. Only through such struggle can the PPU evolve relevant methods of non-violence and acquire confidence and experience in the practice of those methods.

## MOBILIZATION

For this main purpose the movement is seriously under-organized. We need:

1. Experiments in voluntary discipline in groups. (Cf. Gandhi's 1930

code, Shridharani pp. 143-6).

2. Rapid development and extension of regional organization to stimulate mutual help and co-ordinate activity. Without co-ordination no campaign is possible.
3. Establishment of centrally organized research activity and digestion of current information for dissemination as summaries, memoranda, commentaries, etc.
4. Rationalization of national finances, eliminating competition between branches of activity by setting up a single comprehensive Finance Committee for the whole movement, to which all donations are sent and from which allocations are made.

## POLICY

1. Nation-wide open-air meetings campaign. Careful planning essential. (London Area has such a plan).
2. Peace News to concentrate on objective news-summary and practical suggestions suitable to the average non-pacifist (and not an elite). Informative (rather than hortatory) leaflets and pamphlets to be published by Headquarters—requiring more vigorous and widespread distribution by groups.
3. The general message of this double-barrelled campaign would include as principal themes: "Human values." Criticism of (a) racial philosophies, (b) reprisals, night-bombing, (c) food-blockade, and (d) war propaganda. Principle and practice of negotiated peace. Rights of Man. Gandhi's current campaign and criticism of imperialism (in India?).
4. Subsidiary to this main purpose would be support for extensive social work in damaged areas—PSB, PSU, etc.—support for aid to COs

PAPERS ON  
P. P. U. POLICY  
concluded

—CBCO and local bureaux—strictly proportionate support for community and agricultural ventures not self-sufficient; stimulation of study and discussion work and speakers training classes; and the development of a magazine—if possible Adelphi—as the forum for philosophical debate within the Union.

This, as I see it, is the most we can hope to make of our present resources within the next twelve months. I hope my programme will be discussed in the clear understanding:

- (a) That it is proposed not as an orthodoxy, but as a plan intended to express and to some extent satisfy the reasonable wishes of a majority; dissentient minorities are to have full freedom of action and criticism.
- (b) Considerable risks are involved both to individuals and to the very existence of the PPU as a legal minority. (In my view, if the PPU is not in reality an indestructible minority, the sooner it is destroyed the better).
- (c) My earnest hope is that differences will now be expressed in terms of a modified or alternative programme, and not only at the level of philosophical conviction or religious intuition. Don't only say I'm wrong; say what else you propose we should do.

That, re-stated for Peace News, is what I tried to say in ten minutes to the Council. While, and whenever, I have the opportunity I shall not cease to press for action along these general lines. Unless you persuade me otherwise!

ROY WALKER

## GROUP NOTES

never before. Please do not dismiss this appeal lightly. If you can cheerfully send us money and news of yourself, we shall be strengthened and for your sake, our sake, and God's sake, laugh—unless you do you will be bound to weep!

Will anyone who can let me have a second hand lady's bicycle in good condition please write Room 13, Dick Sheppard House.

## GROUP ACTIVITIES

Petersfield.—In sending us the group sub of £1, the secretary of Petersfield PPU writes: "The Petersfield group, as you may remember, is a mixed group of pacifists and non-pacifists, numbering some 20 or so people. We have met regularly during the winter every Thursday, and still do. . . . The meetings are frequently addressed by non-pacifists willing to co-operate on some issues. . . . Our latest venture is working an allotment for the supply of fresh vegetables for free distribution in London, co-operating with local people, who will supplement our supplies with surplus from their gardens. The scheme is not yet complete, but is progressing favourably."

Anyone interested in what Petersfield is doing should write to Mrs. Tania Barnsley, Foxfield, Petersfield, Hants.

Lytham St. Annes Pacifist Group.—This group recently held its annual meeting and the past year's activities were reviewed. Although nothing startling was reported, it was felt that in the first year of its existence it had kept its flag flying "if not at the top, at any rate well above half-mast." It has sent its quota toward the headquarters funds and would like to get into touch with new members, or old ones in the district. The secretary is A. W. Fryer, 4 Stanley Road, Lytham St. Annes.

Central London Poetry Readings.—The first of a series of poetry readings is to be held at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1., on Monday (July 7) at 7.30 p.m. The first reading will be given by John Barclay, and anyone is welcome to attend. The secretary of the group is Kenneth Woodroff, 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

J.B.

## TOWER HILL MEETINGS

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining suitable speakers on Tuesdays, the lunch-hour meetings on Tower Hill, organized by the London Area, will in future be held on Mondays. The time of the meetings will remain unchanged—12.30 to 2 p.m. Everyone in the City is urged to support these meetings.

Blackheath.—In the Congregational Church Hall, Blackheath Village, on Friday, July 18, at 7.30 p.m., the Adelphi Players will perform Little Plays of St. Francis, by Laurence Housman. Admission will be free; but there will be a collection.

Birmingham.—The Birmingham Council is holding a week-end school tomorrow and Sunday at Fircroft College, Woodbrooke Rd., Bournville. At 3 p.m. tomorrow Roy Walker will speak on "The purpose of the PPU," which will be discussed at 4.45, followed by a ramble or social at 6.30. At 10.30 on Sunday morning Wilfred Wellock will outline "A democratic alternative to Hitler's new order in Europe," and there will be a discussion at 11.45.

Wythall. The newly formed Wythall (Birmingham) Group held a garden meeting recently at the Grange Centre, members from Birmingham and Evesham attending to the number of thirty; Herbert Whitley presided. The speaker was Abdul Huk, of Birmingham, an Indian, who asked, "What is wrong with the pacifist movement?" Pacifists, he said, were not pacifist in the way pacifism was understood by the revolutionary Gandhi. The visitors inspected the market garden and farm-endeavours of the Grange Centre, an experiment in community.

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## NEWS OF C.O.S.

IN view of the confusion that appears to exist about both fire-watching and industrial conscription, three more of the "Broadsheets" issued by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (Nos. 6, 7, & 8) are particularly timely and valuable. Much reliable information is packed into each one, the subjects being:

- No. 6 Compulsory Fire-Watching at your place of work.  
No. 7 Compulsory Fire-Watching under your Local Authority.  
No. 8 Conscription for War Work (of Men and Women).

All broadsheets cost 1d. each, but a dozen or more are sent post free. Cash must be sent with order to 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1.

As stated in Broadsheet No. 6, each Hardship Committee has complete power to decide whether to recognize conscientious objection to fire-watching, but the CBCO has information of only one case so far in which it has been recognized. That is the case of Dr. Cuthill, who was given exemption at Bolton.

The exemption reported to have been granted to Mr. R. J. Bell was never granted, though a communication was erroneously sent to his employers suggesting that it had been.

## CIVIL DEFENCE

The CBCO Broadsheet No. 3, on Enrolment for Civil Defence explains the way in which the National Service Act, 1941 makes conditionally registered COs liable for civil defence.

Many conditionally registered COs have recently received notices requesting them to call for interviews at Labour Exchanges. The notices refer to the fact that conditionally registered COs are liable for civil defence, and some of them state that "the purpose of the interview is to discuss with you whether you are already engaged on work of great importance. If there are any personal or domestic circumstances which would prevent you from taking up new work, the interview provides the opportunity for them to be stated and considered."

It seems that the Ministry's view of the importance of work being performed as a condition of exemption will determine whether or not such COs are called up.

## CLASSIFIED: Miscellaneous

GOTAMA FELLOWSHIP for Buddhists and Theosophists who are pacifists.—Write Colman, 172 Peckham Rye, S.E.22.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

TRUTH through Cosmic Symbolism. Astrology delineates character and capabilities; horoscope 10s. 6d.; birth date required.—Box 825, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN invites thinking and educated persons with keen sense of social responsibility to write with view to exchanging regular correspondence.—Box 830, Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

## Defeat—and Victory

By Mary Gamble

Only a country which can accept defeat is worthy of victory.

THOSE words of Alex Miller at the PPU Annual General Meeting impressed me by their simple truth, and I was disappointed that he did not go on to explain their implication. The ability to accept defeat, whether it be by a human being, a group of people, or a nation, is surely the supreme achievement.

In certain circumstances it is admired by the Englishman. In the world of sport for example. The runner-up in the tennis finals smiles as he shakes hands with his victorious opponent across the net, and is applauded for "taking it well." The Arctic explorer, whose frozen body is found in a hut a few miles from his goal, leaving behind him a note in his diary telling of his certain knowledge of impending death is acknowledged as the great hero he is.

But in the business world the acceptance of defeat is something to be ashamed of, and in war, which is the biggest and most unscrupulous business of all, the ability to accept defeat is a disgrace. France accepted defeat, so we heap calumny upon her head.

Yet the greatest men have been those who accepted defeat. "Socrates drinking the hemlock, and Jesus on the rood." They accepted defeat sooner than betray the cause—the idea for which they lived. The Cross stands for defeat. The defeat of love by hate and greed and ambition and all the evil passions of men which always strive to destroy love wherever they find it.

The Church assures us that beyond the Cross there is victory, the triumph of love over death. That may well be. I do not know. I only know that as the shadows lengthened across Calvary Hill Jesus accepted defeat at the hands of men.

We know from the rarest spirits among us—those who have suffered the most—that they became the great men they are because they accepted defeat. They accepted their suffering. They did not struggle against it. They let it sweep over them, engulf them like a great wave.

I believe the acceptance of defeat in an individual man or woman means a willingness to suffer and to go on suffering again and again, knowing that all that one believes in is apparently destroyed, until even faith has gone. And yet at the end to be able to say: "I am I. I have lost everything, even the faith which made me

able to accept defeat; but I am I, myself—valid as a person."

Only the greatest men are required to go through that ordeal, but a consciousness of the necessity of being able to do so is essential to us lesser folk.

\* \* \*

Is it also true that only the greatest nations are required to go through that same ordeal?

Burnt and blasted by the enemy, her cities in ruins, her people near starvation, humiliated by the terms of the victor, her freedom destroyed, and yet able to say: "I have lost everything. My wealth, my prestige, my traditions, even the faith which made me able to accept defeat. But, because I can accept it still I am England, valid as a nation."

If I was convinced that my country could go through that terrible ordeal, then and then only should I be certain that she was worthy of victory, and should know, in some indefinable way that ultimately she would achieve it.

## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement Office: (Please specify department.)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

## Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3s 3d Yearly 12s 6d  
Abroad: Quarterly, 2s 9d Yearly 10 6d

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PORTRAITS painted by Christopher Reynolds, A.R.C.A.—Box 832, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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## LAND &amp; COMMUNITY

ABLE GARDENER, pacifist, 45, capital £450, wishes meet similar party to start market garden; Any offer considered.—S. Joslin, 49 Aylsham Rd., Northwalsingham, Norfolk.

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MARKET Garden, 4 acres, to let with modern furnished cottage.—Orchard Farm, Elton, Chester.

VACANCIES on pacifist Land Community. Male workers and married couple. Mixed farming and market gardening.—Box 827 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

## MEETINGS

Dance, P.S.U., Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd., Walthamstow, E.17., Saturday, July 12, 7-11 p.m.; admission 1s. 6d., Bijou Orchestra.

NORTH LONDON Region. Breakfast and Service, Sunday, July 6, 8.30 a.m.; Service 11 a.m.; Edmonton Independent Church (opposite Town Hall). Preacher Rev. E. J. Keely Wright: Fitness for Service.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

AT KINGSMOOR SCHOOL, Glossop, an indoor manservant urgently wanted; 30s. weekly, all found. Also kitchenmaid, 20s. Send references House Matron.

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